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AUTHOR Turow, Joseph
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ABSTRACT

Although the cultural stereotypes which the mass media disseminate about the roles of men and women are often discussed in general terms, the actual nature of these stereotypes in the present American culture has not been fully or systematically explored. This study examined part of the system of cultural stereotypes relating to men and women on television--specifically, the operation of male-female knowledge stereotypes that are displayed through the giving and receiving of advice and orders on afternoon and evening TV dramas. Clear-cut differences between the sexes in knowledge and approach to knowledge, tending to fall along and reinforce traditional stereotypical lines, were found in their interactions with each other, with men always shown at the nexus of ultimate power. The nature of the male-female stereotype did not change between soap operas (with overwhelmingly female audiences) and evening dramas (with mixed audiences). Rather, the soap operas emphasize those aspects of the stereotype most favorable to women without diminishing in importance the role of men. In this manner, the fundamental strictures of the culture are not violated while the expectations and desires of the female audience to see itself portrayed in central roles are gratified. (TO)

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ADVISING AND ORDERING ON TELEVISION DRAMAS: THE DISPLAY OF KNOWLEDGE ACCORDING TO MALE-FEMALE STEREOTYPES

By

Joseph Turow
The Annenberg School Of Communications
University Of Pennsylvania

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ADVISING AND ORDERING ON TELEVISION DRAMAS: THE DISPLAY OF KNOWLEDGE ACCORDING TO MALE-FEMALE STEREOTYPES

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The roles of men and women in American society have been the subject of much debate and re-evaluation in recent years. Vigorous champions of social equality for women have, in varying degrees, decried the prevailing attitudes about sex roles and assailed the mass media for, in effect, mass producing stereotypes (that is, fixed, seemingly unchangeable notions of social differences which pervade the culture) about the position, task, and capabilities of females in society which, the critics contend, America can and must do without (cf. Janeway, 1971).

Although the cultural stereotypes which the mass media disseminate about the roles of men and women have often been discussed and condemned in general terms, the actual nature of these stereotypes as they are shared in the present American culture has not been fully or systematically explored. A systematic exploration is necessary if the discussion about the portrayal of the sexes in the mass media is to move from the impressionistic and polemical level at which most such encounters are conducted to a more rewarding plane of argumentation on which a common body of necessary facts can be shared and understood. Furthermore, an awareness of the manner in which various groups and subjects are portrayed in mass media content is crucial to a society which does not want its mass media institutions to freely determine the nature of its most pervasive messages, messages that represent the collective consciousness of the society.

This is a report of a study that has examined part of the system of cultural stereotypes relating to men and women on television. Specifically, the investigation has dealt with the operation of male-female knowledge stereotypes that are displayed through the giving and receiving of advice and orders on afternoon and evening TV dramas. Clear-cut differences between the sexes in knowledge and approach to knowledge have been found in their interactions with each other, differences which tend to fall along and reinforce traditional stereotypical lines, with men always shown at the nexus of ultimate power. The nature of the male-female stereotype has been found not to change between soap operas (with overwhelmingly female audiences) and evening dramas (with audiences of mixed sexes). Rather, the focus of attention of the soap operas is such that there is a shift in the presentation of the stereotype to emphasize those aspects which are most favorable to women--the domestic, the supportive, and the personal. The role of men, though diminished in importance when compared to its place on the evening dramas, is not downgraded, however. In this manner, the fundamental strictures of the culture are not violated while the expectations and desires of the female audience to see itself portrayed in central roles are gratified. If the operation of such a "shift" is generalizeable to other situations in which a "specialized" (or minority) audience for a mass medium such as television temporarily becomes a majority audience, it could have interesting and important ramifications for groups demanding more recognition by the medium, and for society as a whole.[1]

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[1]The term "specialized" rather than "minority" more properly applies to female audiences because women actually represent a majority of the American population.

BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

Several studies of the history of women in America have shown that what can perhaps be called a compartmentalization of knowledge--the relegation of specific, limited areas of expertise to women with the assumption of competence for the broader range of knowledge by men--has been one of the most constant features of our cultural stereotypes (cf. O'Neil, 1969; also Flexner, 1972; and Sinclair, 1965). The following remarks by Janeway (1971) are a convenient summary of the traditional male-female stereotypes:

> Men are still the assertive innovators, women the healers. Feminine abilities complement masculine drives, but since they are different, the former do not (read: should not) challenge the latter. . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Women are passive, men are active, women intuitive, men rational--and so on. . . Woman's role is to nurture children, to please men, to support activity, but not to initiate it. Woman's traditional role bars her from the seat of power. So, by analogy, we find that equivalent roles are taken to justify cutting off other subordinate groups from power. (pp. 13, 296)

The few historical studies of women in American magazines (McBride, 1966; Friedan, 1960) have indicated that this traditional conception of male-female roles and capabilities has long been an integral part of the symbolic environment created by the American mass circulation print media. Although there have not been any published studies on the differential possession of knowledge by men and women on television, studies of related subjects--as well as the personal viewing experience--have indicated that the traditional stereotypes have been carried over to that medium as well. For example, both DeFleur, in his study of occupational roles on television (1962), and Gerbner (1972), in his analysis of violence in tv dramas, found that generally the television world was a man's world. At first glance, the conclusions of these studies stand in opposition to those of Arnheim who, in his examination of the afternoon serial (or soap opera) of the early 1940s (1943), saw

women, not men, as the dominant characters and declared that "the importance of the woman as the leader in the family, in the circle of her friends, and even in the large community of the nation is constantly emphasized."(p. 62) However, the apparent contradiction can, perhaps, be resolved by noting that Arnheim was discussing a form of programming that is directed primarily at female audiences. Because the producers and writers of the soap operas want to attract as many women as possible, it is reasonable that they will show women in a favorable light. However, it is likely that in molding the shows for the female audience, the essential stereotypes will not change. Rather, the emphasis upon the more favorable and important aspects of the domestic role of women will be increased while the less favorable facets of the stereotypes will recede from prominance.

This notion of a shift in the stereotypes about women in order to attract and win favor with the predominantly female audience while still adhering to the traditional strictures about men and women can be expanded in the form of a general hypothesis about the operation of "specialized group" stereotypes in the mass media:

> When the composition of a mass audience changes to include as a majority a group which usually has a limited role on that medium, the nature of the role itself (which is determined by the cultural stereotypes) will not change appreciably, but the emphasis upon that limited role and its favorable aspects will be increased.

The present study was designed to test this hypothesis with respect to women while examining the extent to which a specific aspect of the traditional male-female stereotypes--knowledge expertise--is perpetuated on television.

METHODOLOGY

It was felt that looking systematically at the advising and ordering patterns of males with respect to females and females with

respect to males is an efficient and objective way of determining knowledge superiority and of piercing through occupational labels which may belie the true nature of sex-related stereotypes about knowledge. In order to test the above-mentioned hypothesis, the data was collected during the early summer of 1973 through a content analysis of 12 hours of a systematically selected sample of evening dramas (for which there is a mixed audience of men and women) and 12 hours of the three most popular soap operas (for which the audience is overwhelmingly female). Two instruments of analysis were used throughout the research. One instrument focused on the characteristics of the programs and every speaking character. A second was designed (and reliably tested) to analyze every advice-giving (and receiving) and order-giving (and receiving) interaction between the sexes.

Scenes of advising and ordering can be referred to respectively as "advising episodes" and "ordering episodes." Such episodes are examples of what Sears has called "dyadic behavior" (1962, pp. 465-79). The giver and receiver can be seen as parts of a dyadic unit, which exists whenever the actions of one person are, or produce, environmental events for the other. The following definitions of advice and orders are an expansion upon a suggestion by Heider (1950) that an order is characterized by a clash of wills in which the power of the orderer to punish or reward will be affirmed or denied (pp. 244-51):

> A statement is an order if it is a directive towards action and if it induces one of the following consequences under the following conditions: 1) If, when the giver's (A's) directive is not accepted by the receiver (B), an overt clash of wills ensues in which B overtly denies the power of A over him and/or A reaffirms his power. 2) If, when A's directive is not accepted by B, B's refusal leads to an abrupt and angry cessation of communication between A and B. 3) If, when A's directive is accepted by B, B's acceptance is done without any consideration to the correctness of the directive. 4) If, whether A's directive is accepted by B or not, a promise of reward, a reward, a threat of punishment, or a punishment ensues (or even precede's B's action).

> A statement is advice if it is a directive towards action and if it induces the following consequences under the following conditions: 1) If, whether A's directive is accepted or not by B, a promise of reward, a reward, a threat of punishment, or a punishment from A does not ensue (or even precede B's decision). 2) If, when A's directive is not accepted by B, no overt clash of wills in which B denies the power of A or A attempts to reaffirm his power ensues. (A discussion may occur in which B asks A to clarify the directive or the reason behind it.) 3) If, when A's directive is accepted by B, there is a clear indication that B has considered alternative paths of action or, at least, that he considers the action to be one that he accepts of his own volition.

The giving of directives was taken to indicate a pretension of particular knowledge expertise in particular contexts on the part of the giver. The giving of "correct" advice and orders (advice and orders which will lead to results that are patently meant to satisfy the audience) were understood as indications of feelings by the producers of the symbolic structure that the addressor has both the intellectual capacity and the social sanction to give such directives in reality and has superiority over the addressee in relation to knowledge pertaining to that subject in that context. Being correctly advised was understood as an indication of a higher regard for the receiver's knowledgeability than being correctly ordered, because while in the former action the addressor has deferred to the final judgement of the addressee, in the latter the addressee has not.[1]

Explicit refusal to obey an order which resulted in a clash was taken to indicate a determination on the part of the receiver to challenge the power and knowledgeability of the giver in a particular context, on a particular subject. The acceptance of an order without any questioning indicates some deference to the knowledge and power of the giver in that context. Ignoring indicates the refusal of the receiver

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[1]It should be noted that in the coding of advising and ordering episodes, "correctness" was not decided directly. Rather, "correctness" (or "incorrectness) was determined by examining two seperately coded aspects of each episode--the reaction of the receiver to the directive (accepted, refused, or ignored) and the outcome of the episode (favorable or unfavorable).

to confront the sender with a dislike of his order or advice, a refusal usually motivated by the fear of a clash or ill feeling. It can be seen, then, that indications of power and knowledgeability are not only evidenced in the correctness of particular directives but, also, in the manner in which they are accepted or rejected.

A conceptual clarification

The research was approached with some a priori conceptions about what areas of knowledge are traditionally "masculine" and which are traditionally "feminine," categories which were derived from historical studies about the position of women in American society. Stereotypically "female" subjects--those about which women are considered most knowledgeable--are areas such as love, the family, the home, personal problems, and the arts. Stereotypically "male" subjects include business, law, government, preventing and committing crime, and coping with danger. The giving of orders and advice about health by doctors has traditionally been considered an area of male expertise, while knowledge about health in a non-business, non-professional context has resided with women and their unique ability to prescribe "chicken soup." The bounderies between the sexes with regard to health could thus be found quite easily by observing the context (business or non-business) in which every interaction takes place..

The lines between men and women cannot be demarcated so assuredly with regard to directives on simple dealings between the interactors (example: "Close the door!") and on simple dealings between the receiver and a third party (example: "Tell Murray to close the door!"). When given in business contexts these directives (which, if correct, display a knowledge about people and an ability to deal with them) clearly belong to the stereotypically male area of expertise, because anything to do with business traditionally has a male stamp on it. It seems

plausible, however, that directives involving [illegible]n dealings in non-business contexts belong to areas of knowledge in which the lines between the sexes are not clearly drawn. In short, it is here suggested that orders and advice involving simple dealings between the two interactors or dealings between the receiver and a third party in non-business contexts are neutral.

FINDINGS

The advising and ordering patterns may be said to have served two major functions with respect to the operation of male-female knowledge stereotypes in the soap operas and evening dramas. First, the overall structure of the patterns in both periods tended to maintain male dominance in the dispensation of know-how while emphasizing the traditional sexual compartmentalization of knowledge. Second, the patterns in the evening dramas served to highlight male areas of expertise in that period and, by extension, to minimize the importance of women, while the patterns in the soap operas served to highlight female areas of expertise, to underscore their importance, but to maintain male importance and knowledge expertise as well. The following discussion of both periods' findings will outline briefly the fascinating manner in which these functions were carried out.[1]

The evening dramas

The world of the sampled television dramas was a man's world, an urban landscape peopled mostly (70% of 142 speaking characters) by men; in which the majority of advising and ordering interactions (50% of 105)

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[1]While 93% of the 105 interactions in the evening were ordering episodes, an interestingly smaller 73% of the 117 afternoon episodes fit that category. Still, the amount of advice given in both periods was quite small, and the present discussion of advising and ordering will deal with them as an aggregate.

took place in business contexts; in which an overwhelming percentage of advising and ordering relationships (70% of 105) was "world centered" (rather than "family centered," "divorced," or "mixed"); and in which most of the directives (53% of 105) revolved around "masculine" subjects (see Table 1). The masculine tenor of the evening dramas is also reflected in the fact that by far most of the speaking characters who could be coded by both age and marital status (56% of 82) were single adults, a category which fits well into the milieu of worldly action and romance. Only 3% of the total evening population of 142 speaking characters was comprised of children and adolescents, and old people made up less than 1% of the total.

The most important consideration with regard to male-female stereotypes in the evening sample's advising and ordering (ao) patterns is the much higher percentage of the 105 episodes in which men, rather than women, were givers of directives (70% to 30%). The large difference between these two percentages (which is the same as the percentage difference between the presence of men and women in the total population) is a strong indication that men, not women, were the dominant organizers of action during that period. The small percentage of female givers means that even if the most illustrious women on the programs had given directives to the most illustrious men about the most important business transactions, they would have been active in only a small portion of the ao interactions and would be seen as exceptions (perhaps token exceptions) to the rule of male domination in this area.

As it happened, however, most of the women who gave directives in the evening could not be classified as "leaders"; nor did most of the female-initiated aos involve women who were leaders. Tables 1 and 2 show that while 83% of the males in the 73 male-initiated ao episodes (and 72% of the males in the female-initiated ao episodes) had occupations that made them classifiable as leaders, only 25% of the females in the

32 female-initiated episodes (and 18% of the females in male-initiated episodes) fell into that category. Most numerous as givers in the male-initiated interactions were policemen, doctors, and business managers, while the givers in female-initiated interactions were predominantly women whose occupations were not shown ("cannot code in Table 1) and housewives.[1] Moreover, only 7 of the 22 interactions (22%) initiated by women related to the "masculine," professional, action-oriented milieu that was so characteristic of the evening dramas. Even the female "business" people (i.e. those whose occupations were related to business) who gave directives did not do so on business topics most of the time: Only 4 of the 13 aos initiated by them (30%) involved "masculine" subjects (compared to 15 of 21--71%--"masculine" aos initiated by male "business" people). The rest were related to stereotypically female (23%) or neutral (47%) subjects. Thus it can be seen that not only were female leaders not the dominant givers of their sex but, when they did give aos, the subjects they spoke about did not tend to be those which emphasized their professional, "masculine" status.

One important knowledge-related area where the sexes were divided stereotypically but not as sharply as in the areas discussed thus far involved the quality of the directives. It will be noted in Table 1 that although most of the aos of the evening were of a pragmatic nature (aos relating to an assessment of the facts rather than to a disregarding of the facts for feeling), women did tend to give more intuitive aos than men. When all the major findings are taken together, then, it is

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[1]Due to lack of space, only findings with respect to the composition of advising and ordering interactions are presented in tabular form. However, these findings generally parallel* those of the total speaking population and the sub-population of interactors; interesting and important deviations will be noted. The writer will gladly furnish the interested reader with a full report of this study upon request.

*in magnitude (though differences between givers and receivers are common and sometimes quite noteworthy)

evident that the female compartmentalization of knowledge was quite distinct in this extremely masculine milieu.

Men, too, conformed to their traditional stereotypes with respect to subjects discussed and occupations, as Tables 1 and 2 indicate. It will be noted in Table 1 that only 10% of the 73 directives given by males were in the area of "feminine" knowledge; a full 67% related to "masculine" areas of knowledge, and the rest (23%) belonged to neutral territory. The small number of "feminine" directives given by men precludes any generalization with regard to the largest (at 43% of the total) male occupational category in this area, doctors. However, this finding is mentioned in anticipation of a similar, clearer, pattern that will be seen with respect to males who gave "feminine" aos in afternoon serials.

When the results of the evening's advising and ordering patterns are examined (see Table 1), it is found that an overwhelming percentage of the advice and orders given by both men and women was correct and that the majority of directives (53% in the case of male receivers, 68% in the case of female receivers) was simply accepted--correctly (71% of the time) and without overt compulsion (99% of the time)--by the receivers of both sexes. The message implicit here in being correct on television is that a particular character of a particular sex in a particular situation has the knowledge to beneficially direct a person of the opposite sex with regard to a particular subject. That the great majority of ao givers did indeed give correct directives is an indication that the traditionally stereotypical patterns of interaction which were noted were deemed by the message producers as generally the most appropriate patterns to bring about "correct" advising and ordering results. Moreover, the message implicit in the fact that a large majority of both male and female receivers unquestioningly accepted the aos of members of the opposite sex is that receivers understood the traditional

stereotypes and had no quarrel with them.

The afternoon serials

Men and women were on a more even footing in the afternoon serials than in the evening. The much more equal number of men and women (54% and 46% of 68 speaking characters respectively), the fact that women actually gave 52% of the 83 orders in the afternoon (while they gave only 28% of the 98 orders in the evening), and the much higher percentage of "feminine" subjects discussed (with a much lower percentage of "masculine" subjects--see Table 1) when compared to the evening are manifestations of the increased centrality of women in that period. The shift to a more feminine milieu during this time period with its predominantly female audience is also evidenced in the fact that the evening dramas' urban milieu of cops, soldiers, and business professionals gave way, in the afternoon, to a homey, small-town atmosphere unconcerned with the exploits of the police and the military and populated with people whose occupations deal with the personal, the intimate, and the domestic (as can be noted in Tables 1 and 2). This shift is most impressively seen in a comparison between the percentage of housewives in the afternoon and the evening (21% of 68 speaking characters compared to 3% of 142) and in the higher percentage of doctors in the former period compared to the latter (18% to 7%).

In view of the domestic environment of the soap operas and the extremely small percentage of the advising and ordering episodes that deal with "masculine" subjects, it may initially seem surprising that men should control and direct most of the action in that period. Control they did, however, directing 56% of the 117 aos, 70% of which were given by prestigious male leaders. A close look at the male advising and ordering episodes and at the directives they gave reveals shifts from the evening's emphasis which enabled men to dominate the domestic-oriented

as well as the adventure-oriented time period.

From Table 1 it can be seen that the largest subject category of the afternoon was "neutral," which comprised 60% of the total aos, and it can be deduced that 62% of all the "neutral" aos in the afternoon were given by men. "Neutral" advice and orders often function as plot-advancing devices which help set the stage for new developments. A mother's order to her son to buy a newspaper, for example, might lead to her reading an article about a former husband which could start a new serial sub-plot. The findings presented indicate that the great burden of this important function fell to male characters in these dramas of verbal confrontation. Thus men were placed in direct control of much of the action despite the non-masculine milieu.

Another manner in which men were shown to maintain control of the action in the soap operas was through the accentuation of the role of the medical doctor. As seen in Table 1, the medical occupation had by far the largest representation among the occupational categories in the ao episodes. Doctors, who learn professionally what women are traditionally supposed to understand "instinctively," could be shown to plausibly (and, as will be indicated, correctly) direct women in stereotypically female areas while still maintaining the traditional compartmentalization of knowledge. In this connection, it should be noted that male doctors initiated 12 (71%) of their sex's 17 "feminine" ao episodes.

From a comparison between Tables 1 and 2 it can be seen that while doctors represented the highest percentage of male <u>givers</u> in ao episodes, lawyers occupied that position among <u>receivers</u>. A possible explanation is that because doctors had high positions in the serials and were conversant with "feminine" areas of knowledge, they were thought of more plausibly as givers rather than receivers. Lawyers, by contrast, were not as comfortable in the stereotypically female arena and could be

directed by women more plausibly than could doctors.[1]

As was the case with the evening dramas' advising and ordering episodes, the overwhelming percentage of the advice and orders given by both men and women was correct (see Table 1) and the great majority of the directives was accepted (79% by men, 72% by women)--appropriately (71% of the time) and without compulsion (in all cases)--by the receivers of both sexes. The pattern that had been played out over the home screen was shown to be the correct one. Women in the afternoon serials had moved favorably to the center of the stage, but that center was still quite far from the central seat of social power.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The results that have been briefly reviewed in this report show that the traditional male-female knowledge stereotypes formed an integral part of the advising and ordering patterns in the sample of soap operas and evening dramas that were viewed. Moreover, the differences observed between the two periods support the hypothesis that a change in the proportion of women in the audience would bring about a shift rather than a fundamental change in the portrayal of women on the home screen. If the programs that were examined are representative of today's television programming in general (and this writer believes they are), these findings have serious implications for those who are concerned about the portrayal of sex roles in the mass-produced symbolic environment.

The operation of the stereotype

Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of the male-female stereotypes was the subtle manner in which they were revealed. The viewer was not

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[1] No courtroom scenes arose during the coding period. In these cases, the serials shift to a "masculine" milieu. There, presumably, lawyers show their expertise and power, and therein lies their importance to the programs.

bludgeoned with the idea of male power and knowledge superiority through the obvious technique of portraying men as always correct and women as always wrong. On the contrary, most women were correct when they gave directives, and the men usually accepted the directives without argument. However, the shaping of the dramatic landscape was such that the selection of characters, the assignment of occupations, and the movement of plots operated in concert to minimize the chances of women even being given the opportunity to display knowledge superiority (through advising and ordering) and to ensure that the areas in which they were given such opportunities were rigidly compartmentalized along the traditional stereotypical lines. Such a low-keyed perpetuation of a stereotype is probably much more effective from the standpoint of reinforcing the status quo than would be explicit affirmations of the stereotype in the plot. The low-keyed approach conveys messages about role functions and superiority in ways that imply societal acceptance and avoid tension-filled conflicts which would dangerously bare the roots of cultural values and assumptions.

The operation of the "shift"

The female stereotypes were additionally reinforced through a shift in the portrayal of women during the soap operas which maintained the same stereotypes that were seen in the evening but emphasized their more favorable aspects and utilities. The domestic environment of the soap operas made it possible to increase the importance and centrality of women before a predominantly female audience while still avoiding to show that group in positions of true social dominance.

Although the "shift" that has been described thus far properly refers to a major shift in stereotypic emphasis with a shift in the composition of the audience, this concept might also be useful to explain and predict the changes in a "specialized group"'s stereotypes during the general

evening programming as that group becomes more vocal and militates for more social power. Such a "shift" relates to what Clark (1969) has called the "regulation" stage of social control through the mass media.

It appears that the portrayal of most ethnic and racial groups has moved out of the first two stages in Clark's scheme ("non-recognition" and "ridicule") and is ensconced in the third, regulatory, stage. Clark has described the "regulation" stage as characterized by an over-emphasis on roles relating to law-and-order, an idea challenged by Roberts (1969) who observed that the predominance of law-and-order occupations on tv is general for all groups, including the dominant White male. The concept may still be quite useful, however, if the notion of a "regulation" stage is broadened to mean that the minority is no longer ridiculed but is still portrayed in ways that circumscribe its symbolic power severely by perpetuating many of the traditional notions about that group. The mechanism for such regulation is the shift in the minority's stereotypes in order to emphasize the favorable aspects. It is interesting to note that Robert's (1969) observations about the portrayals of Blacks on television conform to this pattern.

If the "regulation" stage and its concommitant operation of the "shift" hold true with respect to all "specialized groups," the implications for the portrayals of such groups on television are not favorable. Generalized efforts to force tv networks to highten the visibility and improve the image of a minority would bring about a change that would pacify the demonstrators while maintaining the essence of the stereotypes. Indeed, attempts by minorities to influence the content of the mass media may be fraught with unseen and unfavorable implications. Gerbner (1970) has found, for example, that the reduction of violence on television as a result of pressures on the networks has tended to shift the burden of victims on Blacks and women ("the less free, independent, and dramatically powerful groups"--p.48), thus causing the stereotypical hierarchy of power

to be clarified even more through violence. Perhaps, however, an increased awareness of the operation of stereotypes in the mass media will aid the general public and message producers sincerely committed to the dissolution of degrading stereotypes to deal with these problems and, in some measure, to overcome them.

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TABLE 1

BREAKDOWN OF ACs ACCORDING TO SUBJECT, OCCUPATION, CORRECTNESS, QUALITY OF DIRECTIVE, AGE, AND SEX[a] OF GIVERS

	Afternoon			Evening			Both		
	%T (N=117)	%M (N=65)	%F (N=52)	%T (N=105)	%M (N=73)	%F (N=32)	%T (N=222)	%M (N=138)	%F (N=84)
A: SUBJECT									
Feminine	36	26	46	17	10	34	26	17	42
Masculine	4	6	2	53	67	22	28	38	9
Neutral	60	68	52	30	23	44	46	45	49
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
B: OCCUPATION									
Leaders:									
Doctor	26	42	6	13	19	--	20	28	4
Lawyer	5	9	--	--	--	--	3	6	--
Other pros	9	17	--	9	12	9	10	15	4
Manager	3	3	4	20	21	16	11	13	8
Military person	--	--	--	6	8	--	3	4	--
Police person	--	--	--	14	21	--	8	11	--
Supporters:									
Clerk	5	--	12	1	--	3	3	--	8
Sales person	1	--	2	--	--	--	.5	--	1
Crafts person	1	2	--	8	8	6	4	5	2
Service worker	1	--	2	3	1	6	2	1	4
Laborer	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Housewife	20	--	44	8	--	25	14	--	37
Nurse	1	--	2	--	--	--	.5	--	1
Peripherals:									
Student	8	11	4	2	2	3	5	6	4
Retired	3	5	--	--	--	--	1	2	--
Cannot code:									
Cannot code	18	12	25	14	6	32	16	9	27
	101	101	101	98	98	100	101	100	100
C: OCCUPATION									
Leaders	43	70	10	63	83	25	55	77	16
Supporters	29	2	61	20	9	40	24	6	52
Peripherals	11	16	4	2	2	3	6	8	5
Cannot code	18	12	25	14	6	32	16	9	27
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
D: CORRECTNESS									
Correct	68	62	75	71	69	76	69	65	75
Incorrect	17	19	15	16	15	18	17	17	17
Unclear	15	19	10	13	16	6	14	18	8
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
E: QUALITY									
Pragmatic	74	86	60	81	88	66	77	87	62
Intuitive	16	9	23	16	11	28	16	10	25
Mixed	10	4	17	3	1	6	7	3	13
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
F: AGE									
Child & adolescent	8	9	4	--	--	--	3	4	2
Young adult	2	2	2	8	3	19	5	2	8
Adult	70	66	75	63	64	59	68	66	69
Middle aged	14	18	11	28	32	22	20	25	16
Old	6	5	8	1	1	--	4	3	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

[a]Totals less or greater than 100% are the result of rounding error.
T=Total, M=Males, F=Females

TABLE 2

BREAKDOWN OF AOs ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, AGE, AND SEX OF RECEIVERS[a]

	Afternoon			Evening			Both		
	%T (N=117)	%M (N=52)	%F (N=65)	%T (N=105)	%M (N=32)	%F (N=73)	%T (N=222)	%M (N=84)	%F (N=138)
A: OCCUPATION									
Leaders:									
Doctor	12	26	2	5	15	--	9	21	1
Lawyer	14	31	--	--	--	--	7	19	--
Other pros	3	6	--	5	3	6	4	5	3
Manager	11	13	11	18	33	11	14	20	11
Military person	--	--	--	4	12	--	2	5	--
Police person	--	--	--	7	9	6	2	5	3
Supporters:									
Clerk	3	--	6	12	--	18	8	--	12
Sales person	1	--	2	--	--	--	.5	--	1
Crafts person	2	2	2	5	6	6	4	4	4
Service worker	2	--	3	5	3	6	3	1	4
Laborer	--	--	--	3	9	--	1	4	--
Housewife	18	--	32	13	--	19	16	--	25
Nurse	7	--	12	5	--	7	6	--	9
Peripherals:									
Student	9	16	5	8	3	10	9	10	7
Retired	2	4	--	--	--	--	1	2	--
Cannot code:									
Cannot code	17	4	27	10	6	13	14	5	20
	101	102	102	100	101	102	100	100	100
B: OCCUPATION									
Leaders	40	76	13	39	72	23	38	75	18
Supporters	33	2	57	43	18	56	38	9	55
Peripherals	11	20	5	8	3	10	10	12	7
Cannot code	17	4	27	10	6	13	14	5	20
	101	102	102	100	101	102	100	101	100
C: AGE									
Child & adolescent	9	16	4	2	--	3	6	10	6
Young adult	3	6	2	21	3	28	12	6	15
Adult	65	57	71	62	66	61	63	60	66
Middle aged	20	17	21	14	31	7	17	22	14
Old	3	4	2	1	--	1	2	2	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

[a]Totals greater than 100% are the result of rounding errors.
T=Total, M=Males, F=Females